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NEW POLITICS
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NORTHERN IRELAND
Betty Sinclair

51st SOVIET ANNIVERSARY

NATO
Quaestor

Lenin/Gorky Letter
Zelda Coates
Maurice Dobb

Correspondence on Czechoslovakia

Reviews by Allen Hutt, R. Page Arnot, Jack Dash

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LABOUR MONTHLY

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Notes of the Month

BIRTH-PANGS OF NEW POLITICS

'How . . . is the working man situated as regards the possession of political power? He is master of the situation. His class can, if it chooses, outvote all other classes put together . . . But he is not likely to care or wish to do that . . . Why on earth should they want to be anything else other than Conservative?'

LORD DERBY, speech on 'The Conservative Working Man' at Edinburgh on December 17, 1875: Publication of the National Union, No. 27: quoted Robert MacKenzie and Allan Silver *Angels in Marble: Working Class Conservatives in Urban England.**

'While the trade unions are absolutely indispensable in the daily struggle between labour and capital, still more important is their other aspect as instruments for transforming the system of wage-labour and for overthrowing the dictatorship of capital . . . Henceforward the trade unions, in addition to carrying on the struggle against capitalist oppression, must consciously function as organising centres for the working class in its desire to achieve the sublime purpose of complete emancipation.'

KARL MARX, General Council Report on *Trade Unions, Their Past, Present and Future*, unanimously adopted at the Geneva Congress of the First International, 1866.

'Political co-operation between the left majority in the Labour Party when it is won and the Communist Party is indispensable for successful advance to socialism.'

THE BRITISH ROAD TO SOCIALISM, Third Revised Edition, October, 1968.

October 19, 1968

Signals of change are sounding in the Western world. The threat of action by three and a half million engineering workers sent the Government and employers scuttling to panic moves of slightly increased offers (with strings) in the effort to avert the stoppage, and revealed once again the real basis of class conflict behind all the smooth talk of the 'new capitalism' and 'participation' and 'industrial democracy'. In France the never before paralleled strike of ten million workers during the summer, alongside the student upsurge and street battles, has shattered for ever the fashionable

* Reviewed by Jack Dash on p. 527.

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myth that the Western advanced industrial countries have ceased to be a focus of revolution, or that the working class in these countries has become sated and passive, and ceased to be the dynamic social factor. Above all, the United States, the centre of world capitalism and imperialism, has now become the centre of instability, rocked by every type of social, economic and political struggle, the Negro revolt, the battles in the cities, and the profound popular resistance to the hated war of aggression in Vietnam. All this is a reflection of the deepening crisis of Western capitalism, and the collapse of the loudly proclaimed 'miracles' of the new capitalism: expressed in the crisis of currencies, the third devaluation of sterling, the trembling also of the dollar, and of the franc; the sharpened battle for markets; and even the classic forms of overproduction and restriction in the midst of poverty:

> By the end of the year Canadian farmers will have on their hands—or in their storage silos—nearly 1,000 million bushels of wheat that no foreign government is buying, although two thirds of the world goes hungry. On top of that the big mining companies are starting to cut back drastically their production of potash. Yet potash is a fertiliser which, if the developing countries could buy and use it properly, would vastly increase their own crop yields. (*Evening Standard* 15.10.68)

No wonder the peoples of the world are everywhere in revolt against this crazy system.

Living People and Dead Party Machines

Yet in face of this popular upsurge of the most widespread and varied array, including most significantly many young people and students not previously involved in politics, now beating against the fetters of the old dominant party machines and trying to find new forms of expression, and in face of the monotonously recurrent and now ever more manifestly deepening crisis of the existing economic-political system, the ancient traditional dominant party machines continue to clank along their accustomed grooves, as if nothing were happening or would ever happen to stir them from their slumbers. They admit that their regime has stumbled into disaster after disaster over the past half century: into successive depressions, world economic crisis and fascism; into two world wars, both of which could have been prevented, and endless local wars. They admit that, after all the programmes of social-democracy, and successive social-democratic or Labour Governments, the gulf between wealth and poverty in the world has deepened; they announce as a shocking

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new discovery the results of the latest investigation into the depths of the gulf between wealth and poverty in Britain or the United States, or the horrors of the slums and the homeless; and they proclaim for the hundred and fiftieth time a grand new crusade to end poverty or to end the slums (but not to end class society which generates these evils). Meanwhile these same party machines, as they go through their rigmaroles, and bitterly complain of dwindling membership or the supposed 'political apathy' of the electorate, are zealously concerned to stamp out any sign of life or reflection of the popular upsurge outside; or if, as at the Blackpool Labour Conference, decisions are carried which reflect popular demands and are displeasing to the higher authorities, solemnly pronounce these decisions null and void. The real world for a moment symbolically broke through at Blackpool with the irruption of the miners cast out from the pits by closures, and of the Biafrans. But this momentary interruption could not divert the even tenor of the prescribed course, and only highlighted the contrast between the will of the ruling machinery and the demands of the people. Both the Blackpools in Britain, and Chicago and Miami in the United States, have revealed this contrast.

US Presidential Election

Consider the American presidential election. The sweeping advance and fervour of the popular movement supporting McCarthy as the spokesman of the revolt against the Vietnam war defeated all the initial predictions of the tipsters, threatened to out-distance all the recognised official candidates, and filled the ruling party machines with alarm. This represented a new political phenomenon in American life, springing from the upsurge of popular feeling from below, and revealing a significant contrast to the black fifties of the cold war and the other McCarthy. So the machines got to work to kill the spark of life, ground away in the accustomed manner (with a degree of police brutality in Chicago which shocked even hardened pressmen, all the more as some of their number, in place of being Olympian onlookers above the battle, also got clobbered), and finally produced the grand choice for the sovereign electorate between the reactionary Nixon, whom they had already rejected, and Humphrey, the docile shadow of the hated Johnson, with Wallace thrown in for good measure to catch any dissenters with an even more right-wing platform, thus ensuring that, whichever way the sovereign electorate voted, their votes should not impede the policies of the

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ruling class. The experience is not in itself so new, though the forms may vary. A quarter of a century ago the sovereign electorate voted with enthusiasm for Roosevelt and his policy of co-operation with the Soviet Union to open a new world era. They got Truman and the cold war. When Kennedy, after the sobering experience of the Cuba crisis in 1962, as a result of which he was compelled to jettison the plan for the invasion of Cuba in return for the withdrawal of the missiles, drew the conclusion with his customary mental quickness that it was time to throw over the cold war, and began in his speeches in the summer of 1963 to proclaim the aim of a complete re-orientation of American foreign policy, a convenient bumping off quickly replaced him by the willing spokesman of the war lobby, L. B. Johnson.

Confrontation at Blackpool

In Britain the electorate gave Labour a majority in the fond belief that Labour meant Socialism and would end the Tory record of stop-go, wage restraint and attacks on the unions to pay for ruinous arms expenditure and a suicidal nuclear strategy. So far as socialism is concerned, Mr. Shinwell, far from a spokesman of the left, declared at an anti-Common Market meeting at Blackpool on September 29:

> In 1966 we were returned to Parliament with a majority of ninety. There had never been a better chance of developing socialism. The Government threw away its chances of building socialism in Britain by its obsession with getting into the Common Market.

Instead, the electors got for their pains a more extreme version of Tory policies of stop-go, wage restraint, a curb on the unions, increased military expenditure and Polaris missiles. When the delegates at Blackpool in October gave full vent to their anger and condemned the main policy of the Government, the so-called 'prices and incomes' policy (actual curbing wages, and even cutting real wages, while profits soar) by a majority of five to one, the Government blandly replied that this vote would of course make no difference to their policy, since it would be highly improper for them to take instructions from the party which returned them to power. From whom then do they take instructions? The question is worth pursuing, and we shall return to it. The Conference, impaled on the familiar two-pronged dilemma of having to pledge support for the Labour Government, whose main policies they were denouncing and voting against, because the alternative would be a Tory Govern-

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ment, sought to find a solution and bridge the contradiction by pledging support 'subject to the policy decisions of the TUC' (which had carried even more left policies than the Blackpool Conference). Mr. Wilson demanded the removal of this key clause. An amendment was moved to delete it. Mr. Wilson publicly supported the amendment in his speech to the Conference. The amendment was defeated, the resolution adopted by the Blackpool Conference declared that Conference

> subject to the reservations involved in the policy decisions of the TUC, pledges support to the Government.

Mr. Wilson in his final speech to the Conference launched an assault against 'ill-considered industrial action' by the unions which had thus in such great majority moved against his Government's policies, and vowed he would never take their instructions:

> No one has ever seriously claimed that a Government which must be responsible to Parliament can be instructed . . . Production, productivity, exports, everything we have achieved at so great a cost, can be imperilled by ill-considered industrial action . . . Day by day we read of hard-won export orders frustrated by sectional and self-regarding action . . . This movement represented here will not readily forgive any action which endangers our common purpose.

On this note of open conflict on both sides the Conference concluded its last day. Through all the sham trappings of 'classless' Labour programmes, and standing ovations to hide the chasm of divisions on policy, the realities of class conflict broke through.

'Devaluing' the Conference

Of course it is now a commonplace, repeated to weariness on every side, that the Labour Party Conference has been successfully 'devalued,' and that its votes decide nothing. But that was by no means always the doctrine. On the contrary, so long as the big trade unions under a Bevin or a Thomas or a Carron could be counted on as block-busters to bludgeon the left, the sacredness of Conference decisions was an article of faith. This was declared to be the great democratic difference between the Labour Party and the Conservative Party, that in the Conservative Party policy was laid down from above by the Leader, while in the Labour Party policy was determined by the democratically elected Conference, so that every rank and file member, through his local organisation, sending in of resolutions, and election of delegates, could take part

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in shaping policy. As late as 1937 Clement Attlee, as Leader of the Labour Party could write:

> In contradistinction to Conservative Conferences which simply pass resolutions that may or may not be acted upon, the Labour Party Conference lays down the policy of the Party, and issues instructions which must be carried out by the Executive, the affiliated organisations, and its representatives in Parliament and on local authorities.
>
> C. R. Attlee, *The Labour Party in Perspective*, 1937, p. 93.

'Instructions'! Note well, dear Harold Wilson. 'Must be carried out by its representatives in Parliament.' Shocking! But of course all this was perfectly safe so long as Big Stick Bevin was by Attlee's side to ensure that nothing went wrong. The sacred doctrine began to turn into its opposite as soon as the advance of the left in the unions began to shake the cast-iron majority for the right wing. Not without reason Hugh Scanlon complained at Blackpool:

> Democracy is not an abstraction to be used only when conference decisions coincide with the views of the leadership.

The change began already in the later years of the Attlee Government, as the tide of votes rose against the wage freeze, and the constitutional necessity was proclaimed for H.M. Government to be independent of outside pressure. But the grand defiance to dethrone the Conference was carried out by Gaitskell with his 1960 'Fight, fight and fight again' speech, when the Conference carried against the Executive its decision to reject nuclear arms or nuclear bases for Britain, and Gaitskell as Leader of the Labour Party announced his refusal to implement in parliament the decision of the Conference. Even so Gaitskell and the right wing still paid the Conference the compliment of campaigning with every means at their command to secure the reversal of the decision at the following year's Conference. Nowadays Conference decisions are dismissed with a light laugh as obviously of no account (and Secretary Woodcock has begun to hint at the same attitude for the TUC). The new sacred doctrine is the doctrine of Burke and Erskine-May, proclaiming the absolute independentce of the MP from subjection to any party caucus, and his responsibility only to his conscience and to the nation as a whole.

Sovereignty of Parliament?

So Burke, the prophet of Conservatism, has become the Bible of the Labour Party. In his famous *Speech to the Electors of Bristol*

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in 1774 Burke laid down that Parliament must not be 'a congress of ambassadors of different and hostile interests', but 'a deliberative assembly of *one* nation, with *one* interest, that of the whole.' (Incidentally Burke also said that 'a perfect democracy is the most shameless thing in the world'). Fine. But how does the independent MP, so independent of any shackles of party control, represent all the electors simultaneously, as 'one nation' and a 'whole', when these same electors are either Conservative or Labour or Liberal or Communist or Nationalist? Obviously he cannot represent them all at once. The 'whole' becomes zero. In other words, the famous 'independence' of the MP becomes independence from any democratic control from below by the organised body of opinion he has been elected to represent, and whose work has brought about his election. In accordance with this doctrine the Parliamentary Labour Party is presented as an autonomous body, entirely independent of the Conference or its Executive, ruling itself and responsible to nobody save the ultimate judgment of the electorate. So the Parliamentary Labour Party, now that the Conference has been dethroned, might appear to be the final sovereign, deciding policy. Not so fast. What about that parliamentary institution so graphically described as 'Whips'? What about all the fuss and discipline if an MP tries to take his 'independence' seriously and vote independently? Once in a blue moon the sovereign Parliament is graciously allowed what is called, with revealing charm as to the normal practice by the very nature of the term used, a 'free vote'—provided it is about some issue, like the use of a formula in the prayer book, about which the lords of finance-capital do not care a twopenny damn. Even when there is overwhelming feeling on both sides on some special issue, like the impositions of Bonn Time to make everybody except bankers get up and go to work in the dark, the Whips are out, since an adverse decision might run counter to the wishes of the All-High.

Secret of Sovereignty

But who then is the All-High, since the Conference has been dethroned, and the parliamentary party receives its orders from above? Perhaps the Cabinet? Not at all. The most important decisions, like the decision to manufacture the British atom bomb, are not even brought before the Cabinet, and most Cabinet Ministers were kept in ignorance, just the same as with the Asquith Cabinet and the secret commitments which prepared the first world war.

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The majority of Cabinet Ministers are only licensed Aunt Sallies for the public to take potshots at, while the real makers of policy remain immune and invisible, through whatever secret conclaves of a few high officials, a few favoured Ministers, the Premier, the Governor of the Bank of England, lords of capital and service chiefs, entirely outside the constitutional machinery, the really vital decisions are taken, and are then transmitted downwards through the visible constitutional machinery of the Cabinet, party discipline and the Whips. Behind all the constitutional flummery the real sovereign is never mentioned in the constitutional textbooks. For behind all the constitutional flummery the real sovereign is the capitalist dictatorship.

New Problems of Democracy

Today a new situation is beginning to arise. Against this system of real monopolist rule from above, distorting and defeating the forms of democracy, an increasing popular awareness and challenge has arisen, especially among young people not tied to the old traditional party forms. The problem is an old one. But there is a reason why this challenge is coming to the forefront today, to an extent that it has never done before. The ever higher concentration of monopoly capital, with ceaseless mergers uniting capitals of hundreds of millions, and the ever closer integration of the state with these monopolist giants, as through the Industrial Reconstruction Corporation, have produced for the ordinary man in the street, especially for young people, and no longer only for Marxist political students, the sense of a gigantic centralised power-system controlling their lives, in relation to which the traditional forms of democratic political expression, through laborious participation in branches, election of delegates to conferences, passing of resolutions by democratically elected conferences, only for these to be contemptuously brushed aside, appear puny and ineffective. Hence the turn to seek new forms of democratic expression (since the mass press and broadcasting is closed to them) through mass street demonstrations and confrontations. Hence the anxious concern of the rulers on behalf of monopoly capital to offer a hundred new formulas of appeasement, 'participation.' 'workers' control', 'industrial democracy' (the Conservative and Labour Parties, de Gaulle, Kiesinger, Johnson, Humphrey, all vie with one another in offering such programmes)—anything except to surrender the class ownership of the means of production.

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A Class Battle

Of course in this new popular upsurge of our times there is in the first stages plenty of confusion. It would not be genuine if there were not such confusion, if from the beginning everything were cut and dried. So in the midst of all the eager and courageous action and response to great issues, as over Vietnam, or against racialism, or for civil rights, there come to the forefront the widest variety of groupings and trends and ideas seeking to express the conceptions and aims of revolt. Among these it is quite natural and understandable that there arise mixed-up leftist ideas: worship of spontaneity; revolt against any form of large-scale organisation as the enemy; hostility to any form of state; denunciation of all political parties; romantic anarchism (which means in real life the rat race or free play for the thug); or personality cults of the most varied and mutually contradictory preachers of revolt. Most important in the role of Marxists in this situation is not primarily the negative fight against these leftist confusions, although of course discussion is necessary, and much can be cleared in the further experience and development of the common struggle. Most important is the *positive* response and understanding of what is being felt and desired, even through initially confused forms; to show positively the way forward to the fulfilment of the aims desired. Such positive understanding means the recognition of class forces, and the class character of the struggle: that monopoly capitalism is the enemy; that the working class is the decisive force of social change which has the power, once clarity of political aim is attained, in alliance with all sections of the people exploited by the present class regime, to overthrow monopoly capitalism and build socialism; that for this purpose a party rooted in the working class and based on Marxism is essential; and that it is necessary to work to build up such a broad alliance.

Foundation of the Labour Party

Long ago in the nineteenth century the socialists exposed the deceptive character of the capitalist two-party system, which concealed what was in essence capitalist one-party rule under the form of two alternative parties, differing on details, but united in upholding capitalism. This ingenious mechanism successfully divided the working class majority of the population from exercising their potential political power as the majority—the nightmare spectre which Lord Derby described, in the extract quoted at the head of these

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Notes, in 1875, and which all the capitalist politicians on both sides most feared. So the workers were divided between the true-blue adherents of Tory flag-wagging and racialism, and the zealous supporters of Gladstone and Liberal reform as the true cause of the working man. When the socialists urged the formation of an independent working class party against both the capitalist parties the dominant Lib-Lab leaders of the organised labour movement of that era were horrified at this proposal to split the ranks and 'let the Tories in.' Nevertheless the socialists, after long and laborious agitation, in which they had to face much abuse from the dominant leaders, eventually won over the trade unions to form an independent working class party, based on the alliance of the socialists and the unions, against both the capitalist parties, The Labour Party was formed as the expression of this alliance of the socialists and the trade unions against the politics of capitalism.

How They Nobbled the Labour Party

Unfortunately this independence from the two dominant capitalist parties was only a formal parliamentary and electoral independence, not yet independence from capitalist class politics. The new Labour Party was based on the working class organisations, but repudiated class politics. This contradiction at the heart was the deadly vulnerable point which the strategically experienced capitalist class was quick to perceive and exploit. Recognising that a party based on the mass working class organisations, and raising the appeal of labour independence, might eventually win the allegiance of the working class majority of the nation, and thus become a threat to capitalism, they realised that the only solution would be to draw the new party into their system before such an outcome was reached. Accordingly the Liberal Party accorded a number of seats to Labour, either by abstaining from opposing their candidates in certain constituencies or by leaving one seat free in two-member constituencies; and suddenly in the 1906 parliament, whereas before a Ramsay MacDonald had only been able to scrape up a few hundred votes as a candidate of labour independence against the two dominant capitalist parties, there appeared a full-fledged Parliamentary Labour Party as a sizable parliamentary force. Of course the Liberal Party had intended to keep the Labour Party in the second position as a junior partner; and during the years 1906-14 the Parliamentary Labour Party under Ramsay MacDonald did indeed fulfil this role. What the astute leaders of the Liberal Party did not foresee was

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that the further march of events, with the first world war and the general crisis of capitalism, would bring the collapse of the Liberal Party in utter discredit; the cuckoo would come to occupy the nest, and the Labour Party replace the role of the old Liberal Party. So the old Conservative-Liberal alternation has become replaced in the recent period by the Conservative-Labour alternation, both sides, as before, haggling and bickering over detail reforms, while united in maintaining the fabric of capitalism. The old Labour pioneers hopefully taught that Labour would eventually reach a parliamentary majority and could then enact socialism. By now there have been a series of Labour Governments, and successive Labour parliamentary majorities; but monopoly capitalism continues more strongly entrenched than ever.

Foundation of the Communist Party

It was with early discernment of this problem, and experience of the left fight, that the leaders of the militant left in the trade union and labour movement during the years of the great upsurge of 1911-14, the first world war and the stormy battles of 1919-20, united to establish a party of the working class vanguard, based on Marxism, the Communist Party—not as a split, not in opposition to the broad movement, but in order to conduct the fight for working class politics and socialism within the industrial working class and mass working class organisations, as well as among all sections of the people, and thus defeat the strategy of the capitalist class which had sucked the Labour Party into the docile partnership in the capitalist two-party system. The task of defeating the dominant right-wing machine, which meant in fact the machine of capitalism, in the labour movement, required, not merely the helpless protest of individual dissenters, but an independent organised machine of working class politics, capable of conducting agitation and propaganda and winning support among the workers against right-wing policies and for socialist policies. This perspective envisaged no sudden victorious revolution, no dramatic coup or confrontation or seizure of power by a minority, but a long and laborious struggle, centred above all in the factories and the workshops, and in the trade unions, to win the key sections of the industrial working class for socialist politics, and thus transform the situation in the broad labour movement, and open the way for the organised working class, as the decisive social force for change, in conjunction with its allies to win political power and establish socialism. The justice of this

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strategy is now being proved by events. The fruits of this long and patient work of the Communists in association with all on the left are revealing themselves in the changed balance of forces within the unions, and the advance in the progressive political role of a number of major unions within the Labour Party.

Problems of the Labour Left

Political development has swept forward during this half century. The successive series of Labour Governments and Labour parliamentary majorities without ending capitalism has shattered the old simple illusions that all that was necessary would be to win a Labour parliamentary majority, and that this would mean the establishment of socialism. The truth which the Communists grasped half a century ago has now been demonstrated by experience, and is today more and more widely recognised, that it is necessary to win the fight for socialist politics within the organised working class in order that the potential political power of the organised working class can become effective for socialism. Today the streams of left revolt within the Labour Party are gathering on every side in a wide variety of forms. Whereas previously only a tiny handful of courageous Labour MPs took their life in their hands to express revolt by votes or declarations of support of a united front, and immediately had their heads chopped off by the axe of right-wing discipline, today the left revolts, often expressed in abstentions and sometimes in open votes defying the Whips, reach to scores, so that the axe of discipline becomes blunted. Nevertheless, the problems of the left rebels in the Labour Party are difficult. They can only fight as individuals. They cannot form a political organisation with a common programme or policy, and the varying or sometimes erratic trends of prominent individual left leaders (as in the record of Bevan) are an inadequate substitute for this. For their seats at election time they are dependent on toeing the line of a programme and platform laid down by the right wing. Hence the importance of their fight for the independent political voicing and organisation of Marxism and socialist politics, represented by the Communist Party and the *Morning Star*, which cannot be disciplined or silenced by the right-wing machine. For this reason the united co-operation of all these forces of the left, communist and non-communist, each performing an indispensable role, represents the high road to victory. This is well understood by the strategists of the right-wing machine, who direct their most determined effort to ban such co-operation as the supreme crime,

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since they know that such co-operation would rapidly win the majority of the organised working class.

Trade Unions' Decisive Role

It is in this situation that the key role of the unions is revealed for the solution of the problems of the next stage of advance of the political labour movement. Whereas previously left revolt was traditionally voiced by the constituency parties, with their weak voting strength, while the big unions provided the bludgeoning power for the right-wing machine, now a new situation has begun to appear. With the advance of the left in many unions, some of the largest unions have moved towards an increasingly active progressive role also in the political sphere. This is opening up far-reaching consequences for the future of the Labour Party. The TUC at Brighton this year, where communists have in the main full and equal democratic rights, not only adopted a number of significant progressive policy decisions, but was in general more to the left in these decisions than the Labour Party Conference at Blackpool, where communists are excluded from being sent as delegates by unions, even though unions may wish to elect them as their representatives. Thus the vote against the Government's incomes policy was 7 to 1 at the TUC, 5 to 1 at Blackpool. The slight shift to the left in the composition of the Labour Party Executive took place in those sections determined by trade union votes: the accession of Lena Jeger in the Women's section, and of A. H. Kitson in the trade union section; whereas the constituency Labour parties, voting separately, continued to send the same representatives to the EC, including three Ministers, with a Cabinet Minister at the top of the poll. In the complex democratic machinery of the unions temporary shifts and changes in respect of personnel are always possible. But the general line of development is unmistakable. The unions, which took the first step by uniting with the socialists to found the Labour Party, are now beginning to move forward to the necessary next step, to fulfil their role, as described by Marx, in association with the communists and socialists, to 'function as the organising centres for the working class in the desire to achieve the sublime purpose of complete emancipation.'

Towards a Popular Front

Salford is an industrial borough with long-standing Labour traditions and two progressive Labour MPs. Continuously since the war its 16 wards elected a Labour Council until 1967. In 1968

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all 16 wards were lost. *The Sunday Times* sent its reporter to interview the Secretary of the Salford City Labour Party, Peter Grimshaw; and his report appeared in its issue of September 29 on the eve of Blackpool:

> Grimshaw was brought up on Marxism, which still emerges in time of crisis. 'Social democracy has reneged on the British workers four times in my lifetime and it looks like doing it again. My personal belief has always been that social democracy won't bring socialism. I just hope that other people will come to see that salvation lies in a different direction, and that there's a decisive shift to the Left.'

What to do?

> Such views are for the most part kept under the surface of Grimshaw's public life. 'That's no point,' he argues, 'in my going Left all on my own. We have to wait until there's a general sign of a shift to the Left—a popular front. In the meantime we've got to try to preserve the party.'

But it is no use for everyone to wait to move until after everyone else has moved. The time is now to work for the co-operation of all the forces on the left, of all those who are today stirring and seeking a way forward, of all who are seeking to change the existing social system, towards the fulfilment of that alliance of the Left or 'popular front' which he recognises as necessary, and which is of such vital importance for Britain's political future. It is towards this aim that such gatherings as the broad delegate conference on November 3 convened by the *Morning Star* on 'The Socialist Way Forward for the Labour Movement' represent an important step forward.

Czechoslovakia—A Postscript

On page 513 we print a representative selection from the very large number of letters received commenting on the October Notes 'Czechoslovakia—Lessons For Us All'. Although the considerable majority of the letters have expressed appreciation, we have given more space to those voicing criticism, so that our readers can be aware of the criticisms expressed. To avoid prolonging an endless controversy in the limited space of a monthly journal, the writer of these Notes is firmly resisting the temptation to answer at length all the points raised by the critics, especially as most of the issues involved have already been covered by the original Notes, while the rest is largely a question of estimation of the value or otherwise of the treatment. Some of the critical letters raise very wide issues of the historical record of the Soviet Union in the 'thirties and the

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era of the cult of personality; whether Marxism-Leninism may not be 'a specifically Russian-conditioned interpretation of Marxism'; or shortcomings found in present political institutions of the Soviet Union. To cover all these questions would indeed fill a whole number. On the former the most balanced assessment so far available is the June 1956 resolution of the CC of the CPSU. On the latter it might be worth while to reprint Lenin's view on the freedom of the press under capitalism and under socialism. One detail point of factual misunderstanding might be worth putting right. To illustrate the fact that the 'hopes' of Western reaction had looked forward to the process of 'liberalisation' leading to a 'non-communist' state, *The Daily Telegraph* editorial of August 31 was quoted as expressing their view that, if the Warsaw Pact troops had not arrived, 'can anyone doubt that the result, not perhaps soon, but inevitably in time, would have been a non-communist regime?' A critical correspondent finds it 'surprising in one who has been a Communist editor for so long' to 'accept that judgment'. We fear we must surprise and shock this correspondent still more; we shall continue to treat a *Daily Telegraph* editorial as an expression of Conservative opinion. On the very important question of left unity raised by Stuart Douglass—and we should like to express the regret all of us must feel on his decision to resign as Arts Editor, and our gratitude and warmest appreciation for all the splendid work he has done in that capacity—it was the aim of the Notes to endeavour, however inadequately, to help towards a balanced understanding of the issues on both sides, and in this way to make a contribution towards the essential task of overcoming the present dangerous division of the international progressive movement which has arisen on this question.

R.P.D.

Revisionists and Imperialists

'A young colleague at my university was in Peking trying to get a visa to come home via Siberia, and he went in the British Embassy car to the Soviet Embassy to apply for his visa. In front of the Soviet Embassy he ran into a crowd of Red Guards yelling imprecations. They saw that his car had a diplomatic licence and was obviously heading for the Embassy, so they assumed that it contained a Soviet diplomat and began to rock the car back and forth, yelling, "Revisionist! Revisionist! Down with the Revisionists!" With great quickness of mind he rolled down the window and shouted out, "I am not a Revisionist! I am an Imperialist!". Whereupon the crowd fell back!'

(Owen Lattimore, lecture on 'China Today' delivered to the Royal Society under the chairmanship of Joseph Needham on March 18, 1968, *Journal of the Royal Society*, July 1968, p. 664.)

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NORTHERN IRELAND: THE BATTLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

Betty Sinclair

(Betty Sinclair, who is Secretary of the Belfast Trades Council and Chairman of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, here gives the background to the present struggle. The second part of this article to be published in December describes the events of Saturday October 5, in Londonderry.—Ed. LM)

WHEN Charles Dickens wrote his famous tale, *The Tale of Two Cities*, he made a most dramatic finish. Sydney Carton the spy of the piece, on finding that the people whom he had to spy on, and work against, for an infamous master, were ordinary honest people, he chose, 'the better path.' And he said, 'It is a far, far better thing I do today . . .' when he decided to face the French guillotine. One had always, after knowing his history from the story, a sneaking respect for the man because he had, not repented, but recognised the truth of the case for 'the other people.'

In the echelons of the ruling Unionist Party of Northern Ireland there appears to be no Sydney Carton. Those who have ruled here, since 1920, through successive Governments and through due 'democratic process' have arrived at the stage where they intend to rule against everybody—including Britain—whatever the odds. That the ultra-Unionist forces within the Government have not declared UDI is because they could not last for one month if the huge subventions, by way of money grants, did not arrive and therefore help, financially to maintain their support.

The British Government, especially since the last war and because of strong representations by the trade union and labour movement, have been forced to allow an effort to take place to end the scandalous leeway that existed between the standard of social services in Britain and Northern Ireland—although parity was promised in the Government of Ireland Act, 1920. It was the agitation of that movement that provided the courage for the Unionist ruling party to go forward and ask for a better deal for the people here. But now they claim the victory all their own and warn all that—if the link is broken with Britain we shall lose all the benefits that come from 'the connection.'

What have been the benefits? We do not talk now of any 'Irish question.' We do not raise the matter of the right of *all* the Irish

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people to determine the future of the *whole* of the country without any outside interference. We talk of the benefits to the Northern Ireland people—as an integral part of the United Kingdom. The many Acts passed by the British Governments after the last war and which dealt with social services were warmly welcomed by all sensible people here. But, resistance did come. It came from successive Unionist Governments in Northern Ireland who had become even more Tory than the Tories in Britain. And, in their blindness, they thought that they would not, and need not, increase the standards of life in Northern Ireland for their political opponents—in any field—because their followers in the Unionist Party would be willing to do without themselves in order to deprive the political opponents of Unionism of the ordinary everyday facilities of life in the field of social services. But they made a mistake. The ordinary worker who followed the fortunes of the Unionist Party wanted to be 'British,' they wanted the same social services as the British worker. And so the Unionists had to give way. They did it with a bad grace.

And they did it in such a way that all the social service Acts that were passed in Britain and which applied to Northern Ireland were administered more harshly than they were in Britain. They attempted, at one stage, to cease the payment of family allowances after the birth of a third child in a family. This was obviously—so obviously — slanted against the Catholic people that there was a general outcry against the proposal here and in Britain that the ultra-Unionist clique had to draw in their horns. Just now the Association of Local Education Committees are attempting to prevent children of large families—after the fourth child—getting free school meals as in Britain because of this policy of discrimination —fear of their own overlordship and—dare one say—their hatred of Britain and all that her people stands for in the way of liberalism.

Whilst the Unionist ruling Party wants to maintain 'the connection' their attitude is that whatever there may be in that connection or laws passed that would upset Unionist Party rule, they will have nothing to do with. They, actually, as history unfolds itself, are becoming the anti-British force in Northern Ireland—and—by that yardstick—in the whole of Ireland.

It is not always easy for those who have not visited, lived or worked in any part of Ireland—including Northern Ireland—to know the mind and temperament of our people. It is not always given to them to know that, throughout our long history, the Irish people have always absorbed their invaders and would-be con-

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querors. It is not easy for them to know that it was only possible, after the rebellion in Drogheda in 1641 and the consequent massacre of the Irish natives of that town that, until then, there had been no great hatred or animosity. But since then there have been difficulties which led up to the division of the country in 1920. Not to suit the needs of the British or Irish people—but to suit the needs of the British Conservative Party and its economic and landed imperial interests.

The 1920 Government of Ireland Act, was based on equal rights. It gave the people Proportional Representation in Local Government and national government. This latter was done to ensure that what had been called the Protestant Ascendancy class would be able to have representation. In the 26-counties of Ireland PR was maintained in all spheres until an attempt was made to end it in 1959. This attempt was rebuffed by the people. (At the moment a further attempt is being made to this end and the whole of the trade union and labour movement are opposing it.) In Northern Ireland, however, PR was abolished already in 1922—two years after the State was set up. This guaranteed that the nationalist opposition in many areas were not able to obtain adequate representation commensurate with the population. For the Stormont Government elections, PR was abolished in 1929 and constituencies were re-formed in order to ensure that, as far as possible, no alternative Government could ever be returned in Northern Ireland.

This action affected not only the Nationalist opposition, it also affected the rising Labour movement which had already four seats in the Northern Ireland Parliament and were looking forward to more as the struggle developed. The constituences in the countryside were cut up—one Member of Parliament for Derry City, a Unionist has his voters from as far as eight miles *outside the city*. And he represents the city of Londonderry! In Belfast, where Labour and Nationalist representation was strong, the seats were cut up so as to make it nearly impossible for a Labour candidate to be elected. A few seats, won by Nationalists, were not pervious to such tactics because of the overwhelming number of such voters. Even that was thought to help the ruling Unionist Party as they always wanted, always wished, to have politics here polarised into Nationalist and Unionist, Catholic and Protestant fronts—they could always play the Orange card against the Green card.

But peoples and movements grow up. Many battles were fought during the 1920's and 1930's but it was not until really after the

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last war that the people—the vast majority—began to realise that there could be, or might be, a better way and the trade union and labour movement began to make much progress. There began to be formed a unity of, especially, the working class which worried the ruling Unionist Party. They were not prepared to—would not countenance—from whatever quarter it came, any challenge to their rule. And so we found that the people who had fought together against fascist Germany, Catholic and Protestant, and of all political persuasions, had to be divided again to ensure Unionist rule.

So concerned were the forces of Unionism in Northern Ireland that they actually went to the polls before Britain in 1945—and used the old slogans in order to keep their dominance. They were afraid to wait until the first post-war British election would take place because they feared the result on the growing understanding of all the decent and serious people here. The White settlers of Rhodesia have nothing to teach the Unionist Party in Northern Ireland—in fact they may have learnt much from them. And, let me make clear, they are not much better at being 'Britishers than are the Smiths of Rhodesia.' The 'Mother country' for them amounts to subsidies of over £100 million per year and no interference in what they are doing in Northern Ireland in the name of the British people.

The Northern Ireland people, like the people of any other part of the world, have a desire to live in the place where they were born. But, just imagine, if the people who oppose the ruling party ever became the absolute majority, were able to go to school, have employment and become members of the total community, what would become of the 60 (Protestant) and 40 (Catholic) proportions that were worked out in 1920? And so it has happened ever since that, whilst the Governments have not carried out a policy of genocide, they have tried to order matters in the field of employment, housing, etc., to ensure that this possibility would never occur. To obtain a house, secured through the local authorities, one's religion has to be taken into account. In the vast majority of nearly 60 local authorites, there is no points system for housing and either the Mayor or the local councillors—the predominant Unionist majority—decide who gets a house. (Since the end of the first world war, 1919, Derry Corporation with a population of nearly 60,000, have built little over 500 houses.)

In the field of employment, it was usual, until recent years, that the applicant would be asked his or her religion. This was 'refined' and one's religion was not asked: one was asked what school one

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had attended. It was always easy to distinguish the names of so-called Protestant—actually local authority—and Catholic voluntary schools. In many industrial establishments Catholic workers were refused employment—in others, a nominal number would be employed. It was expected that, when the big monopolies set their eyes on Northern Ireland that this might be changed somewhat. But, rumour has it, that, when these firms came in with the aid of Government money, etc., they were required either to keep to the 60-40 per cent proportion, or, as it has been in many cases, were able to find only Protestant workers in the particular areas where the industries were set up. Otherwise, of course, if the Catholic workers wanted employment they would have to shift home. And that meant the run-down of ancient cities with a proponderance of Catholic people.

No one denies that industrial development has taken place in Northern Ireland. No one would dispute that conditions are much better than they have been in the history of the State. But, equally, no one will gainsay that all the changes that have taken place have been so worked out as to ensure that Unionist rule will continue for ever and for ever.

But we live in 1968. There is a growing and intelligent middle and working class. They wish no longer to live in the Unionist Party cultural and social wilderness.

LABOUR MONTHLY FORTY YEARS AGO

U.S.A. Democracy

West Virginia has other resources besides its police. There is the Sedition Act. Under its provisions: 'It shall be unlawful for any person to speak, print, publish, or communicate, by language, sign, picture or otherwise, any teachings, doctrines or counsels in sympathy or favour of ideals, institutions, or forms of government hostile, inimical or antagonistic to those now or hereafter existing under the constitution or laws of this State of the United States . . .'

The next section of the law makes it illegal for any person to display, or to 'have in his possession' any red or black flag. Violators of this law go to the penitentiary for not less than one and not more than five years.

There are still persons in the United States who believe that orderly and legal methods can be depended upon for making the necessary transition from capitalism to socialism.

(From 'Democracy,' by Scott Nearing, *Labour Monthly*, November 1928.)

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NATO: BACK TO REALITIES

Quaestor

'AS long as antagonistic alliances like NATO and the Warsaw Pact exist, there will continue to be tension and insecurity in Europe,' said Trevor Park, Labour MP for South-East Derbyshire, in a *Morning Star* interview (October 14); and he pleaded the cause of the resolution, thrown out by 2,991,000 to 2,828,000, at the Labour Party's conference, which called for the winding up of both alliances in favour of a European Security system.

He could have made his case stronger had he underlined (as *Labour Monthly* has for years) that the countries of the Warsaw Pact—formed six years after NATO, by the way—have from the first advocated just that: and meanwhile repeatedly proposed substantial arms cuts on both sides. The Karlovy Vary conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in April 1967, including those whose members form the governments of the Warsaw Pact countries, said so. As recently as July 13 this year, at his press conference in Stockholm, Soviet Premier Kosygin said: 'We have time and again pointed out that we, far from favouring new pacts and new groupings, on the contrary advocate that existing ones, including NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, should be disbanded. We still adhere to this point of view today' (*Moscow News*, No. 29, 1968). All such offers have been rejected.

But the approach of the date—April 4, 1969—on which any members of NATO can give notice of withdrawal, under clause 13 of the North Atlantic Treaty signed in 1949, has brought up in its ranks, in particular in the British labour movement, much discussion of whether NATO has really served to preserve peace, or on the contrary has kept Europe and the world in a state of constant tension.

Needless to say, the entry into Czechoslovakia of troops of five other Warsaw Powers on August 21 was seized upon by advocates of NATO as evidence that its continuation was necessary. But their argument in favour of a build-up of NATO forces proved very soon to be flimsy: by September 25 the Defence Correspondent of *The Times* was giving the opinion of 'London' (i.e. the Defence Ministry) that the entry 'makes no change in the physical balance of military power between the two alliances:—and, after a meeting of the NATO Foreign Ministers in New York on October 8, the Diplo-

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matic Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* confirmed that 'no commitments for substantial increases in NATO forces were made.'

When we look at the situation as a whole, however, there is more to be said. The United States Senate on October 11 decided to postpone consideration of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty—already signed by Britain, USA, USSR and scores of other Governments, but not by West Germany—until next year. There is no question about the reason: it is West Germanys' attitude, taken up months before August 21. Bonn agrees with the treaty 'in principle, but wants assurances that it will not prejudice German military security nor damage the prospects of her nuclear industry' (*The Times* Bonn correspondent, September 27). Not surprising, seeing that twelve months ago her army carried out exercises, 'Hermelin II,' on the German Democratic Republic borders, in which 36,000 soldiers were using mock nuclear weapons.

Again, on October 11, *The Times* reported that Defence Minister Denis Healey had discussed with his West German opposite, Gerhard Schroeder, joint British-West German development of 'a new advanced combat aircraft for the mid-1970s': a project discussed for many months, and still held up by rivalry between British and West German aircraft firms. However, the plan was agreed to by the NATO Defence Ministers next day: and 'West Germany would place the biggest order for the aircraft' (*The Guardian* Bonn report, October 12). Thus, like the hold-up of the non-proliferation treaty, it is West German military requirements that decide—and they date from long before August 1968.

Then there are naval armaments. In February this year there began, and has continued ever since, a swelling campaign of the creation of larger British naval forces in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, under the title of a 'NATO mobile force.' The pretended reason, advanced in panic terms, is the growing strength of the Soviet navy: although, as a writer to *The Economist* pertinently pointed out (June 1, 1968)—and waited in vain, seemingly, for an answer—the USSR is building up a large merchant fleet, and needs to defend it, under existing conditions. It might have been thought, after the declaration of a NATO conference at Reykjavik in June that they aimed at a 'balanced reduction of forces' on both sides, that some steps would have been taken to discuss naval cuts with the Warsaw Powers. Not at all, Instead, the British press piled alarmist report on report about the 'Soviet threat': and in recent weeks these have reached a grotesque stage. Thus, the USA

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has for years kept a heavily-armed fleet in the Mediterranean, with at least 50 ultra-modern warships including 2 large aircraft-carriers bearing 80-100 planes each. Their strength is 'overwhelming.' according to a NATO survey (*The Times* Diplomatic Correspondent, June 21), and the Soviet naval forces are 'no match' for them and their other NATO allies in the Mediterranean, says Admiral McCain, commanding US naval forces in Europe (*The Guardian*, June 27). But British and American warships are ordained by God, as everybody knows, to be in the Mediterranean—and so, when the USSR has a total of 44 warships on the spot, of which *one* can carry 30 helicopters, while the others are destroyers, a cruiser, 10 submarines, and the rest landing or supply vessels (*The Times* Naval Correspondent, October 1), an outcry goes up about 'Russians planning to rule the seas' (*The Guardian*, June 27), 'Navy Force to Counter Russians' (*The Times*, October 10), etc. The acme of stupidity (so far) was doubtless reached when Admiral Sir John Bush, Allied Commander-in Chief, Eastern Atlantic and Channel, denounced Soviet destroyers and trawlers shadowing his manoeuvres as 'a damned nuisance,' and complained that 'the Russians have left their own territorial waters and are out in the oceans' (*The Daily Telegraph*, October 2). In reality, of course, the Soviet ships are supporting communications with Egypt, Syria and Iraq, not to speak of the Yemen Republic—all hundreds of miles nearer to their territorial waters than are British and American warships in the Mediterranean and the Middle or Far East.

If there are lessons to be learned from the outcry, all this year, about the future of NATO—exemplified in the desperate anxiety of the Government and its right-wing supporters at the Blackpool conference to tack propaganda for NATO on to the resolution about Czechoslovakia—they are these.

After the second world war the imperialist Powers imagined that the Soviet Union was so ruined that it could not raise its head for a long time. Not only did this hope prove an illusion, but by 1948-49 the Soviet Union had shown itself strong enough to protect and give decisive economic aid to the countries in Europe aiming at Socialism and to People's China. This predetermined the formation of an anti-Soviet bloc, NATO, in 1949. Even a rebuilt German imperialism was not enough (as they hoped in the days of Hitler).

At the same time, the idea of rebuilding it had already germinated during the war: it lay behind Churchill's notorious order to Montgomery in April, 1945, to gather in the Germans' arms with a view

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to possibly reissuing them against the Russians. However, it was first necessary to restore the foundations of monopoly capitalism in West Germany: this journal has given many details of how it was done. But ultimately it involved the rearmament of West Germany and her admission to NATO. Today, she is the strongest military power in capitalist Europe. Moreover, her imperialist appetites have grown as her military and economic strength has increased. As a result—and the events mentioned above are only the latest examples—instead of her being a reinforcement of NATO, as maybe was intended and certainly was asserted—it is NATO which has become a reinforcement of West Germany.

That is the outstanding fact in capitalist Europe today, its decisive feature, dominating all others *without exception*—particularly in view of the deliberate refusal of the Labour Government to do anything which would counteract it.

This point of view has long been advanced by *Labour Monthly*. It has lately found reinforcement from an unexpected quarter. One of those who created the atmosphere in which NATO was born was a very well-known US diplomat George Kennan—'Mr. X.' We learn that in a lecture to an academic institution at Geneva on May 11, 1965 (quoted at length in *Containment and Revolution*, Ed: D. Horowitz, Beacon Press, Boston, Mass. 1967) Mr. Kennan stated: 'It was perfectly clear to anyone with even a rudimentary knowledge of the Russia of that day that the Soviet leaders had no intention of attempting to advance their cause by launching military attacks with their own armed forces across frontiers . . . (NATO was formed) as a military defence against an attack no one was planning.' It was conceived by people 'capable of envisaging a favourable future for Europe only along the lines of a total military defeat of the Soviet Union, or of some spectacular, inexplicable and wholly improbable collapse of the political will of its leaders'. The creation of NATO, said Mr. Kennan, 'sacrificed at a stroke' all the possibilities of ending the division of Europe and the other great objectives 'vital to any hopeful vision of Europe's future, as also to the prospects of world peace.'

Better late than never—and better a determined campaign for the ending of both NATO and Warsaw, in the light of events since Mr. Kennan spoke, than to accept the artificial defeat of the Blackpool resolution. Back to realities!

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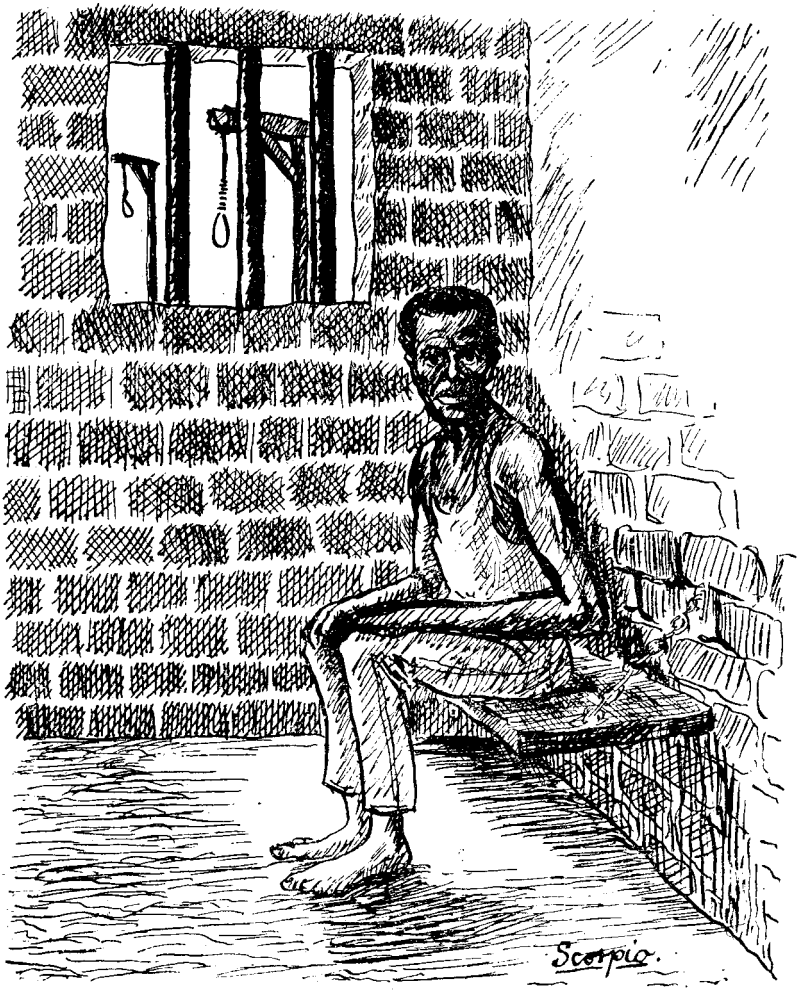
RHODESIA 1968 . . .



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51st Anniversary of the October Revolution

MEMORIES OF LENIN

Zelda Kahan Coates

(*Sixty-seven years ago Lenin was writing on Britain for the paper* Zvezda. *In it he singled out Zelda Kahan, afterwards Mrs. Zelda Coates, for commendation because of her courageous stand against the jingo outlook of Hyndman and Quelch when she had said: 'Never has the Social-Democratic Party made a bigger and more terrible mistake than in identifying the Party with the jingo warmongers. Lenin's argument on the question ended by stating: 'Zelda Kahan was right when she said that never yet had British Social-Democracy so disgraced itself.' Lenin however had more than once met Zelda Kahan whose memories of him we are very pleased to print. Today Zelda Kahan Coates is probably one of the very few survivors in this country with personal memories of Lenin from before 1917. This makes it the more appropriate to publish her memories on this fifty-first anniversary of the victory of the October Revolution, when we are approaching the celebration of the centenary of Lenin's birth in April 1970. On p. 511 we print a letter of Lenin to Gorky, hitherto unpublished in English, and during the months up to the Centenary we propose to maintain a Lenin Corner to publish extracts of interest from his writings. Ed. LM*)

I FIRST met Lenin when I was quite a young girl in 1902. At that time there were many refugees in London who had fled from Russian Tsarist oppression, my own parents among them. Wages were very low and there was a great deal of unemployment and human misery. Housing conditions were shocking and one could see on the streets ragged, barefoot children, pale-faced and under-nourished, and many poverty-stricken men and women.

But if the lot of British workers was hard, it was even harder for the refugees, though the latter at least found in Britain a refuge from political, religious and racial persecution and within certain limits they also enjoyed freedom of speech.

One day when I visited my sister I found there a number of Russians whom I knew, but there was also a stranger among them—a man of medium height, broad-shouldered, with a typically Russian face, not particularly handsome but with fine expressive hazel eyes.

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He had a high forehead and fair, almost reddish, hair. This was Lenin.

In the ordinary way I might not have taken much notice of the stranger, but they were discussing various political and social questions and I could not help noticing that his contributions to the discussion were always more thoughtful and more compelling than those of most of the others. At the same time he spoke quite simply and directly, so that I, who was very interested in the subjects discussed but still did not know very much, could follow his arguments without difficulty.

Subsequently I attended some of his lectures. Here, too, there was no straining for effect. He was not an orator; he spoke for the most part with the simplicity and conviction of one who had a thorough knowledge and understanding of the matters he dealt with.

Lenin used to do much reading and writing at the British Museum, but he did not limit himself to theoretical study. Like Marx he was keenly interested in the struggles of the British working class and in the conditions of their daily lives. He and his wife Nadezhda Constantinovna Krupskaya frequently attended open-air meetings in Hyde Park. They were interested not so much in the speeches from the platform but rather in the behaviour and reactions of the audience. They often used to travel on the top decks of buses and trams listening to the conversations of their fellow-passengers. Lenin did not regard the working class as a political abstraction; his approach was essentially human and he never tired of observing and listening to British workers, of learning all he could about their lives and their thoughts.

He was always cheerful and optimistic, despite his personal conditions which were often very hard. He was especially fond of children and could make even a shy child feel at home with him. When he played with them he entered into the spirit of their games with a zest and energy no less than that of the children themselves. One day when I walked into my brother-in-law's house I found him playing at bears with my sister's young children, and covered with a fur coat beneath the table. On the other hand, the sight of a ragged, starving child caused him almost physical pain and deep anger.

Lenin never lost faith in the working-class movement or in the ultimate triumph of socialism in the world. I remember how, at a small gathering of refugees after the defeat of the 1905 revolution, the political situation in Russia was being very heatedly discussed.

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One of the Mensheviks present said: 'I think we ought to ease down our agitation, the Russian workers are exhausted and need a prolonged rest before they can be reorganised for revolutionary work'. Some of the others seemed to agree, but Lenin was furious. He jumped up from his chair and declared: 'This is nonsense! It is you, Messieurs Mensheviks, who are exhausted. The Russian workers are not exhausted; on the contrary, they are full of energy and are straining to resume the fight against Tsardom and capitalism until a workers' Socialist Republic is established!' The contrast between Lenin's energy and knowledge and the flabbiness of the Mensheviks was very striking.

In May 1907 the Russian Social Democratic Party held a conference at the Brotherhood Church in Dalston, London. I sat in the gallery as a visitor, listening to the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks who sat in a body on opposite sides of the hall. The discussions were so furious, they attacked one another so fiercely, using the most insulting words, that I was really astounded.

One day in between sessions of the Conference I was talking to some of the delegates and I remarked: 'What a curious Conference yours is! It doesn't seem to me like a meeting of socialist comrades, in fact you argue much more fiercely and use much stronger language against one another than do the Conservatives and Liberals in our British Parliament!'

As I said this I heard a loud laugh and turning round I saw it was Lenin. Then he became serious and said: 'You are quite right, comrade, we do fight one another much more earnestly and heatedly than the Conservatives and Liberals do in your British Parliament, but do you know why that is? It is because no serious important matters of principle divide the Conservatives and Liberals—both defend the interests of the capitalist class and the capitalist state. They can discuss matters more calmly because their disputes concern either questions as to which Party or individual shall be in power, or on some matter of minor reform to ease the position of one or other section of the people. But we Socialists are now discussing matters of vital principle on how best to carry on the struggle for the success of the working-class movement, for the happiness of our people, indeed of all mankind, and we cannot afford to be restrained and polite when actions and policies are urged which we consider would betray and tend to destroy our movement'. And how right he was—I saw that later even better than I did then.

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SOVIET AGRICULTURAL COLLECTIVISATION

Maurice Dobb

THIS* is a translation (by Irene Nove) of a book published in Paris in 1966. Although at present resident in USA, the author writes with more first-hand knowledge and balance than the general run of professional Sovietologists in that country: he has himself lived in the Soviet Union (from 1940 to 1946), worked apparently on *kolkhoze* and in factories and even served in the Red Army. After the war he studied at Tel-Aviv University and later at the Sorbonne, where the present work was mainly done as a doctoral dissertation. As sources he uses, *inter alia*, stenograms of Soviet and Party congresses and collections of documents, books and articles on the period published in the Soviet Union since 1956.

The focus of the work, as described in the author's foreword, is 'the interlude between the "grain crisis" of the winter of 1927-8, which heralded the general crisis in NEP, and the onset of intensive collectivisation in the ruthless and wholesale form which it assumed during the winter of 1929-30.' But, as prelude to this, Part I (occupying the first 200 pages) is devoted to a survey of the years 1925-7, 'in order to study peasant society prior to collectivisation in adequate perspective,' and the opening chapter, 'Features of Peasant Society,' is devoted to illustrating the primitive conditions of peasant life (and what Lenin called semi-Asiatic *bezkulturnost*) which continued into the 20s and 'constituted a terrible obstacle in the path of Soviet Russia.' This is followed by two chapters on 'The Problem of Class Stratification within the Peasantry.'

The author himself points out that some have taken the work as being devised to rehabilitate Bukharin's 'gradualist' pro-peasant policy, while others have taken the evidence he presents as indicating 'that the solution adopted by Stalin was, in fact, the only solution possible.' While disowning both these standpoints, Dr. Lewin admits that his intention in writing has been to reopen the question as to whether an alternative course than the one adopted was in fact possible. This is undoubtedly what gives the book its special interest to anyone who returns to those crucial years in the spirit of historical enquiry, and it is one that at some date must inevitably come upon

* *Russian Peasants and Soviet Power*, by M. Lewin, with a preface by Professor Alec Nove. Allen and Unwin, 540 pp., 70s.

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the socialist historian's agenda. One has here to distinguish between the general line of basing industrialisation upon extensive collectivisation (which by the end of 1928 had won pretty general agreement in the Party—even Bukharin had virtually accepted it, if with some reservations of his own) and the coercive measures associated with *kulak*-liquidation and the 'mass collectivisation' drive of the winter of 1929-30. The author's view, apparently, is that, while the former was correct and could have succeeded at a more graduated *tempo*, the latter was a needless and costly, as well as tragic, deviation.

While the standpoints of Bukharin, Preobrazhensky and Trotsky in the discussions of 1925-28 are recounted with understanding yet not uncritically, this objectivity leaves him when he comes to Stalin (compare his treatment of Stalin on pages 159-166 and elsewhere with, for example, analogous treatment by E. H. Carr); and as Parts II and III of the book advance, it increasingly assumes the tone of an anti-Stalinist philippic. Even earlier the tone is apt to be querulous and captious (which it is easy to be with the wisdom of hindsight), and comment and citation are prone to be negative rather than positive. At times one is tempted to put the question: what else do you suggest could have been done in the situation as it was then seen and with the knowledge at the disposal of the authorities? He thinks that the policy towards the *kolkhoze* in the 20s is 'an example of the short-sightedness of Soviet policy during the NEP period.' He *does* seem to make the point successfully that in the critical years of 1928-29 the gravity of the grain-procurement situation was aggravated, at least, by mistakes of price-policy. But in general he seems to make too little allowance for the fact that a long-term perspective of building socialism in a backward country had to be worked out *for the first time* (and hence long-term policy-decision inevitably took time), and in the meanwhile there was no alternative but to tackle short-term problems as and when they arose. I think he may also have taken too little account of what could be called the time-horizon involved in policy-decision, in the sense of the dependence of what it was right to do (whether to continue the NEP-compromise with the peasantry or to press through collectivisation) on how much time the capitalist world was likely to leave the Soviet Union to carry through industrialisation undisturbed.

It will be clear from what has been said that this book is not everyone's cup of tea. But for those seriously concerned with studying the history of socialism and of those momentous years, it cannot be avoided.

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A LENIN LETTER TO GORKY

(We have pleasure in publishing, for the first time in English, the following letter, dated September 15, 1919, from V. I. Lenin Collected Works, Vol. 44 [4th Russian edition]. Ed. LM.)

Dear Alexei Maximych,

I received Tonkov and even before receiving him and before your letter, we had decided in the Central Committee to appoint Kamenev and Bukharin for checking on the arrests of bourgeois intellectuals of the near-Cadet type and for releasing whoever possible. For it is clear to us that here, too, there have been mistakes.

It is also clear that in general the amount of arrests of the Cadet (and near-Cadet) public has been necessary and correct.

When I read your frank opinion in this connection, I recall a remark of yours, which had been particularly impressed on my mind during our talks (in London, on Capri, and afterwards): 'We artists are irresponsible people'.

Precisely! What makes you utter incredibly angry words? Because some dozens (or perhaps even hundreds) of Cadet and near-Cadet gentlemen are spending a few days in prison *in order to prevent conspiracies like the surrender of Krasnaya Gorka*, conspiracies which threaten the death of tens of thousands of workers and peasants.

What a calamity, indeed! What injustice! A few days, or perhaps even weeks, of prison for intellectuals in order to prevent the massacre of tens of thousands of workers and peasants!

'Artists are irresponsible people.'

It is wrong to confuse the 'intellectual forces' of the people with the 'forces' of bourgeois intellectuals. As a sample of the latter I take Korolenko: I recently read the pamphlet he wrote in August 1917, the pamphlet *War, the Fatherland and Mankind.* For Korolenko is the best of the 'near-Cadets', almost a Menshevik. But what a disgusting, base, vile defence of imperialist war, concealed behind honeyed phrases! A miserable philistine captivated by bourgeois prejudices! For such gentlemen 10 million killed in an imperialist war is a deed worthy of support (*deeds*, accompanied by honeyed phrases 'against war'), but the death of hundreds of thousands in a *just* civil war against the landowners and capitalists evokes ahs and ohs, sighs, hysteria.

No. It is no sin to make such 'talents' spend a week or so in prison, if this *has to* be done to prevent conspiracies (like Krasnaya

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Gorka) and the death of tens of thousands. But we exposed these conspiracies of the Cadets and 'near-Cadets'. And we *know* that the near-Cadet professors are everywhere giving the conspirators *assistance*. That's a fact.

The intellectual forces of the workers and peasants are growing and strengthening in the struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie and its accomplices, the petty intellectuals, the lackeys of capital, who imagine they are the brains of the nation. Actually, they are not the brain, but sh. . .

To the 'intellectual forces' who want to bring science to the people (and not to act as servants to capital) we pay a salary *above the average*. That is a fact. We take care of them. That is a fact. Tens of thousands of officers are serving in the Red Army with us and are winning victory despite the hundreds of traitors. That is a fact.

As for your moods, as for 'understanding', I do understand them (since you have raised the question whether I understand you). More than once, both on Capri and afterwards, I told you: you allow yourself to be surrounded by just the worst elements of the bourgeois intelligentsia and fall victim to their whining. You hear and pay attention to the howls of hundreds of intellectuals because of a 'terrible' arrest for a few weeks, but the voice of the masses, the millions, the workers and peasants, whom Denikin, Kolchak, Lianozov, Rodzyanko, the Krasnaya Gorka (and other *Cadet*) conspirators, are threatening, this voice you do not hear and do not pay attention to. I fully understand, I fully and completely understand, that in this way it is possible not only to go so far as to write that 'the Reds are just as much enemies of the people as the Whites' (the fighters for the overthrow of the capitalists and landowners are just as much enemies of the people as the landowners and capitalists), but also to go as far as belief in a little God or a little Father—the Tsar. I fully understand.

In truth, you will perish if you don't tear yourself away from this situation of the bourgeois intellectuals! With all my heart I wish that you will tear yourself away as quickly as possible.

Warmest greetings,
Yours,
Lenin.

For you are not writing anything! You are wasting yourself on the whining of corrupt intellectuals, and not to write —— for an artist is this not ruin, is it not shameful?

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Correspondence:

CZECHOSLOVAKIA—LESSONS FOR US ALL

(A flood of letters has reached our office on the October Notes of the Month on Czechoslovakia. The majority have expressed appreciation of the survey as helpful for a consideration of the issues; but a minority have expressed criticism, and sometimes strong disagreement. The proportion of letters expressing appreciation to those expressing criticism has been over three to one. To attempt to publish them all would more than swamp all the pages of our tiny magazine, and leave no room for treatment of other current issues. Accordingly we are allocating the space which was planned to have been made available for the Arts Section to print as representative a selection as possible of letters or extracts from letters, with fuller space for those expressing criticism. We apologise to those whose letters have not been printed (all correspondents have been personally answered) or have had to be shortened. It should be explained that the Notes of the Month are always the signed contributions of the Editor (or Deputy when the Editor is absent), and should not be regarded as an expression of a collective viewpoint of the Editorial Board, which is not a political organ, but a group of eminent representatives in a wide variety of fields, trade union, socialist, Labour Party, Communist and independent, embracing a wide variety of viewpoints, and united in a common devotion to the cause of the working class, socialism and left unity. As Dave Bowman, who is a most valued member of the Editorial Board, has desired to express his criticism, and also Stuart Douglass, who has tendered his resignation as Arts Editor, it has been felt right that more extended space than in the case of most of the other letters should be made available for the expression of their criticism. In order not to prolong a correspondence within the long-drawn conditions of a monthly periodical we have devoted extra space this time to print this representative selection of letters, illustrative of all the various comments expressed, and will not further continue the correspondence on this issue. To facilitate this the Editor has foregone his right to reply on all the many points raised, since he regards his original contribution as having covered the ground of most of the issues involved, and only makes a short general comment on this correspondence in the last paragraph of the current Notes. Ed. LM)

Dave Bowman

AT THE MARCH 1966 MEETING of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Secretary Brezhnev said:

'*Greater unity calls for the observance of the collectively defined rules governing relations between Parties, those of complete equality and independence, non interference in each other's internal affairs, mutual support, and international solidarity. The Communist Parties possess a vast experience in revolutionary work and none can find the right conclusions for the problems that arise before them better than they themselves. The CPSU is opposed to any and all hegemonic trends in the communist movement. The CPSU stands for truly internationalist relations between all Parties on the basis of equality.*'

A full but very necessary quotation to determine clearly the accepted

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policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the question of relations between Parties, the fulcrum point of any discussion or argument regarding the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact armed forces.

The statement of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain which 'deplores the intervention from outside the country to remove some of the leaders of the Czechoslovak Party . . . is a gross violation of the democratic rights of the Czechoslovak communists' is completely in accord with the accepted policy of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

'Complete equality and independence,' 'non-interference in each other's affairs,' are hard concrete words which cannot be burked, which have no ambiguity or carry any dual meaning. From this it must be accepted that the entry of the Warsaw Pact armed forces into Czechoslovakia was a violation of the policy of the CPSU.

In the statement of the 81 Communist Parties attending the 1960 World conference the principle 'All Marxist-Leninist Parties are independent and have equal rights' was accepted. There is therefore also a violation of the policy of the international communist movement.

However, there is a line of reasoning being advanced that action by the Czechoslovak Government and Party had created a position in which the security of the socialist countries was in jeopardy; that the Soviet Union who had lost twenty million people in the war against fascism must act to secure their borders from world imperialist forces and in particular from West German imperialism. Consequently accepted policy had to be repudiated.

If there was a semblance of proof to support this point of view, namely, that the Czechoslovak Government had or was losing political control, was losing control of their armed forces, that the Czechoslovak Party was in decay or was in danger of losing the support of the working class and the trade unions, repudiation and reversal of accepted policy could be vindicated. But every available scrap of knowledge regarding the events in Czechoslovakia since January, sifted in the sieve of credibility or analysed objectively, proves precisely the contrary. The Government had not lost political control, was in complete control of the armed forces and had in fact won greater support from the people. The Party had maintained the support of the working class and the trade unions who pledged complete confidence in the Party and its policy.

If the facts are different, if the Executive Committee of the British Communist Party is wrong in stating these as facts, if counter-revolutionary forces, peaceful or otherwise, were becoming a political force in Czechoslovak life, if the trade unions and the working class were passive and open to counter-revolutionary ideas, then such allegations must be substantiated by proof. A proof which has never been forthcoming, presumably because it does not exist.

It is not enough to say that we don't know all the facts, or that 'only historical outcome by test of practice will determine the correctness of the policies and viewpoints at present under discussion.' Communist Parties are not composed of armchair socialists waiting to read history books, but of Marxists, making and acting on decisions which correspond to the real objective world in which they live and work.

I would not be presumptuous and say what history will determine; history books can be written from

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different angles, and are. What is certain is that in any objective assessment of the known facts the independence of the Czechoslovak communists has been trampled underfoot and interference in their internal affairs has taken place.

The leading quotation from the October Notes of the Month, taken from the Czechoslovak Party's Action Programme, 'The false thesis that the Party is the instrument of the Dictatorship of the proletariat' is literally torn from its context. The full transcription reads: 'In the past, [referring to the Novotny period D.B.] the leading role of the Party was often conceived as a monopolistic concentration of power in the hands of Party bodies. This corresponds to the *false thesis that the Party is the instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat.*'

The Czechoslovakian Communist Party, along with other Parties does possess a vast experience of revolutionary work and since January has been engaged in mass discussion to determine the policies necessary to rectify the mistakes of the past and to strengthen the socialist state. This is the *raison d'être* of the Action Programme which fully reaffirms the necessity of the leading, vanguard role of the Party and correctly states that the Party 'does not *enforce* its authority,' 'force its line by directives,' but must win the Czechoslovak people by progressive socialist development and by the truth of its ideals. There is no contradiction between such a policy and the tenets of Marxism-Leninism. The Lenin quote from the October Notes of the Month, 'The Party is the directly ruling vanguard of the proletariat, it is the leader' is fully reaffirmed in the Action Programme. The Programme does not 'blur and weaken the crucial leading role of the Party' as suggested in the October Notes of the Month.

The clash of opinion between the Czechoslovak Party and the other Parties in the Warsaw Pact cannot be solved by hegemonic practice. The presence of the Warsaw Pact armed forces on Czechoslovak soil will solve nothing. The differences can only finally be solved by free comradely discussion and decision on the basis of equality. The Editor said in the October Notes of the Month: 'In these differences between Communist Parties there is no umpire.' I would add, neither can there be any invasion of the field to impose unwanted solutions to political problems. If the Marxist-Leninist principle of equality is to be ignored by some Parties (and who will say who are to have this privilege and who not), then further serious divisions in the Communist movement are inevitable.

In the polemic that has developed around the invasion of Czechoslovakia advocates of the entitlement of the Czechoslovak Party to independence have sometimes been branded as anti-Soviet. But this is not the question in dispute. What is in dispute is the question of communist principles and the carrying of them into practice. But it must be said, if being 100 per cent in agreement with the stated policy of the Central Committee of the CPSU is being anti-Soviet then the English language has lost its meaning.

The declared and accepted policy of the CPSU outlined in the Brezshnev quotation is Communist. The declared and accepted policy of the international Communist movement is Communist. The invasion of the Warsaw Pact armed forces in Czechoslovakia *does not* accord to Communist principle.

The Czechoslovak Party faced and still faces very difficult tasks in its work to correct the wrong policies of the past, to effect the new economic

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measures and strengthen and extend socialist democracy. The invasion of the armed forces can only add to their difficulties, creating as it has done a passionate sense of injustice in all walks of Czechoslovak life, particularly in the ranks of the working class.

Much water has flowed under the Prague bridges since August and it seems possible that the discussions between the Czechoslovak and Soviet Party leaders have brought some measure of agreement. Dubcek has said that there is agreement that the post-January policy of new economic measures and extension of socialist democracy will be put into effect, that while there will be a temporary stationing of some Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia, the decisive majority will be withdrawn. This with a number of other agreed political decisions it is hoped, will lay a base for further discussions leading to a complete normalisation of the position and Czechoslovakia. This I am sure is the desire of every Communist.

Stuart Douglass

THE EDITORIAL THIS MONTH has left me in a quite impossible position as editor of the Arts Section. The article contains hardly a breath of criticism of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. In fact it is mainly a justification of that action.

When I took over the job of editing the Arts Section I did this in the belief that one of the cardinal aims of the magazine was towards Left Unity. It was to achieve this in the Arts that I was working, besides the important task of allowing a vent for all manner of left artistic opinion.

How is it possible to achieve Left Unity when practically every artist of my acquaintance holds the view that the Russian action was one of aggression and the editorial points in precisely the opposite direction? It is quite ludicrous to have to point out to them that this is only the opinion of the editor and not that of the journal. If a journal has an opinion at all it is that of the editor.

I can think of very few people who would be willing to contribute to the Arts Section after reading the article.

I consider now that I am unable to function as Arts Editor and therefore must most reluctantly resign as such.

James Aldridge

FOR MANY OF US who were politically educated for forty years by R.P.D. in the Labour Monthly, it seemed to justify a life-time's conviction in Marxist analysis to read his October Notes of The Month on Czechoslovakia. It would have been a pretty bleak outlook if the Notes had not given us the sound analysis that we have always come to expect.

Many Marxist intellectuals these days seem to be in confusion about which comes first—their Marxism or their intellectualism. In fact there is a growing tendency for intellectuals (including many who call themselves Marxist) to create around themselves an almost religious idea that what they want of society is what is best for it. What struck me in Paris during the recent troubles there was that the young intellectuals wanted the working classes to come out in the street and fight, not so much for a working-class reality but for the intellectual liberation of the individual from all the powerful restraints that capitalism represses him with. It was a purely intellectual requirement and had nothing to do with working-class needs.

It seems to me that this touches on the real problem, in Czechoslovakia as elsewhere. 'Liberal' intellectuals can paint the most dramatic and

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exciting pictures of what society ought to be, and then say that what they are planning will ensure it. That is an old device, we have just seen it operating at Blackpool, and nobody has a monopoly of it either.

I have always believed that Marxism gave us the X-ray eyes to see through that kind of cosmetic. That is why I think R.P.D.'s Notes have restored the balance of understanding considerably, and I for one am more determined than ever, after reading them, never to hand my intellect over to those vulgarians who imagine that the class struggle is dead, and that the struggle now is for a vast sea of long-discredited abstractions.

Margaret Cohen

IN A LETTER I cannot attempt to deal with arguments that take up 24 printed pages. I will therefore simply make the following 3 points.

1) You treat the whole tragic business of the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Soviet troops and those of the other Warsaw Pact countries as if it were a 'tactical' (your several times repeated epithet) question—as if no question of morality or principle were involved.

2) In the guise of impartiality, with an air of being 'above the battle,' you devote the greater part of your long article to arguments which justify the Soviet attitude and actions —the article is heavily weighted in emphasis and sheer quantity in this direction. In spite of any appearance of objectivity, the article as a whole will be taken, as you must be well aware, as a defence of the Soviet position.

3) You make much of the continuation of 'old bourgeois conceptions, traditions . . .' in Czechoslovakia, of 'the formative years of all those over 50 having been spent in the bourgeois Masaryk-Benes regime . . .' and of all this as a major factor in the internal situation in Czechoslovakia. Yet you so lightly dismiss what happened earlier in the Soviet Union as 'distortions ruthlessly corrected . . .' and speak of 'democratic renewal' as if the violations of democracy and the crimes of the Stalin period ended overnight. It is alas, only too clear that this renewal has a long, long way to go, as the attacks on writers, the negative attitude towards experiment in the Arts—and in fact the whole political atmosphere still prevalent in the Soviet Union shows. In connection with the attitude and actions towards the Czechoslovaks, you might well ask yourself in what kind of regime did Russian cadres over 40—let alone 50—spend *their* 'formative years!.

Alan Bush

THE OCTOBER NOTES OF THE MONTH on Czechoslovakia placed the action of the Warsaw Pact countries into historical perspective. Nowhere else have I so far read such a complete, reasoned and objective statement, and I hope it will be widely studied throughout the British working-class movement. The concluding paragraph on the Moscow Agreement of August 26 is particularly important. You wrote (among other things):

> 'But it is certainly the common interest of all, equally in Czechoslovakia and the socialist countries, and in the international working-class and progressive movement, that the path of a political settlement, as expressed in the Moscow Agreement, should succeed, to combine the vitally important advance of democratic renewal in Czechoslovakia with the safeguarding of socialism and maintenance of the unity of the socialist countries in the Warsaw Pact.'

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This seems to sum up the present position very precisely.

The views of most members of the intelligentsia in situations such as this are particularly unreliable. I have often noticed that such people regard the freedom which, they believe, socialism should bring to all is the exact equivalent of the freedom enjoyed by people of ample private means in capitalist countries; and if such socially irresponsible freedom is not enjoyed in a socialist country, then that is not socialism or at any rate not socialism as they would like to see it. Your remarks quoting Lenin about the small improvements, 'the Bolsheviks must go . . . we will correct the regime a little,' etc., are incessantly poured forth by the intelligentsia in socialist countries. Slogans like 'we want socialism but without Ulbricht,' which have been commonplace in the GDR for decades (though I must say that the ferocity of Western Germany has silenced even these people, who realise where they are well off) are typical of this mentality.

This morning I read the report of a speech by the Deputy Prime Minister of Hungary, given on radio and television on August 31. It included the following:

> 'In the experiences of the Hungarian Party, with the acceleration of the process of democratisation, reaction also revives and tries to take over the leadership of this process . . . This also happened in Czechoslovakia . . . (The Czechoslovak Party) permitted the great question of democracy and the freedom of assembly and of the press to be divorced from its class content, and interpreted in a bourgeois manner . . . The false, bourgeois interpretation of democracy and liberty is the reason why such important organs of power as the press, radio and television, which so effectively influence public opinion, have slipped more and more and in the end completely slipped out of the hands of the Party and government. One must say that on the basis of this the right-wing, reaction, had succeeded in creating a much greater legal basis for itself than in Hungary at the end of the summer of 1956.'

It seems to be that this analysis by a leading Hungarian Party comrade, who had lived through the Hungarian counter-revolution, ought really to be accorded very serious attention. The Czechoslovak comrades, after repreated warnings, continued to treat reactionary propaganda from press, radio and television as marginal (as they now admit). It does look as though something decisive had to be done.

Margot Heinemann

I HAVE READ AND RE-READ the Notes of the Month very carefully, and feel I must write to express deep disagreement. Some of the arguments used to support the Soviet actions I find not only wrong but very dangerous.

I won't try to cap Lenin quotations since they all refer to a different period in any case (though I have read some Lenin from time to time, and my impression is that he would turn in his grave at being cited in support of carting the elected leaders of a fraternal party off to Moscow by force and preventing the holding of a Party Congress).

In Czechoslovakia, can anyone doubt that the effect of these latest actions has been greatly to increase anti-Soviet feeling among a people previously very friendly to the USSR, far more than any CIA propaganda could have done?

The questions involved here seem to me basic rather than tactical ones.

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Ralph Milner, Q.C.

MAY I EXPRESS MY heartfelt thanks to you and Labour Monthly for introducing into the discussion on Czechoslovakia a sane and recognisably Marxist view. One hopes that many people will now learn the 'Lessons for us All', which your October Notes of the Month indicate.

P. F. Lupton

THOUGH WITH THE DEEPEST RESPECT for the part played by Labour Monthly and the Notes of the Month in the socialist movement, I still must declare my dismay felt upon reading the current Notes, which, to my mind, totally mis-direct the discussion of the events in Czechoslovakia. What I am convinced has not been done in these Notes is to take to heart the behest of Lenin, quoted at the beginning, to study the specific features of the new and living reality. Instead, we are given dead formulae, as, for example: 'only the historical outcome, the test of practice, is the final arbiter.' Put in another form: 'time will tell' (that the Soviet Union is right, as ever)—is this a Marxist analysis?

What have made 'an internal question into an international question' are, firstly, the very questionable military move of the Soviet Union and its allies, and more basically the importance of the Czechoslovakian situation to socialists the world over in considering the development of socialist theory and practice.

We come back to the 'living reality' —could, may one ask, Lenin have been right for the Soviet Union in 1921 and the Czech Party right for Czechoslovakia in 1968? Might Lenin not have given a specifically Russian-conditioned interpretation to Marxism on this question?

Brian Bunting

THANKS FOR GIVING US the best Marxist analysis I have yet read on the Czechoslovak situation.

Dennis Ogden

THE CRITICISMS OF THE INVASION of Czechoslovakia are dismissed in a mere twenty lines or so in the current Notes of the Month, though it is graciously conceded that they are 'weighty'. All the remaining 24 pages amount to a veiled justification of the invasion.

It is argued that the 'historical outcome' has justified many Soviet actions which were criticised in the past and that on this occasion too 'the historical outcome, the test of practice, is the final arbiter.'

It is possible to discuss this point of view at great length. Likewise it is possible to discuss the validity of the parallels you attempt to draw between events in Czechoslovakia and those in Hungary—not to mention the Finnish War, the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, Munich, Kronstadt, Georgia, etc. and to ask whether they are really relevant, and whether the interpretation that you give to some of these events is indeed the correct one.

I would like here to comment on only one aspect which I consider to be of basic importance: the attitude to some of the mistakes which it is admitted were committed. I believe that there is grave underestimation of the magnitude of these mistakes and their significance for us today.

Reference is made to 'distortions which had developed in the course of maintaining Soviet power . . . in the face of fascism, the war and the subsequent cold war.' Only as an afterthought is the fact mentioned that many honest Communists were 'also' struck down.

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I suggest that it was honest Communists who constituted the overwhelming majority of the victims of what you gracefully dismiss as 'distortions', while the real agents of fascism and foreign intelligence were in a very, very small minority. That, certainly, is the conclusion I draw from conversations with many Soviet comrades who were fortunate enough to return after brutal torture and imprisonment. It is also the conclusion I draw from the speeches at the 20th and 22nd Congresses and other Soviet material.

The external threat certainly existed and certainly there were foreign spies and agents—but this factor was deliberately exaggerated to make rigged charges more plausible and to justify the continuation of restrictions on Socialist democracy. Nor is it true that these 'distortions' developed 'in the face of fascism, the war and subsequent cold war.' They in fact began to develop *before* fascism came to power in Germany, for example.

Reference is also made to the Soviet comrades 'fullest readiness to discuss'. Which Soviet comrades? Certainly the ordinary rank-and-file Soviet comrade will have great difficulty in discussing events in Czechoslovakia for the simple reason that he has not had the opportunity to learn the viewpoints of those fraternal parties critical of the Warsaw Pact countries' position. The rank-and-file Soviet comrade has not, for example, been able to read in his press even a summary of the statements issued by the Communist Party of which you are a prominent member. He has not been able to read such basic documents in the case as the Czechoslovak Party's Action Programme, or its reply to the five-party Warsaw Letter. How, then, can he 'discuss' the matter in an informed, Communist manner?

Part of the as-yet uneradicated legacy of the 'distortions' which you so glibly dismiss is the absence in the Soviet Party and other spheres of life of full, free, public and informed *political* discussion at grass-roots level.

Finally, much of the argument in the Notes of the Month pivots upon the acceptance of the judgment of a *Daily Telegraph* writer to the effect that 'can anyone doubt that the result, not perhaps soon, but inevitably in time, would have been a non-communist regime' in Czechoslovakia. I do not accept that judgment; the writer of the Notes apparently does. I find that surprising in one who has been a Communist editor for so long.

E. S. Sachs

MY HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS to R.P.D. for his brilliant analysis of events in Czechoslovakia in the October issue of the Labour Monthly.

The action of the Soviet Union and her socialist allies cannot be considered with the lawyers yardstick but must be judged in the light of historical perspective, with due emphasis on the mortal struggle between the New World of Socialism and the dying system of capitalism and imperialism. No one challenges the right of the Czechoslovak people to build socialism in their own way, or to inaugurate political and economic reforms. The sole question is whether under the guise of 'liberalising' the national life of the country, subversion should be allowed and even facilitated.

Recently, international counter-revolution has come out as the defender of human rights, world freedom and self determination of small nations. It not only champions Czechoslovak independence, it even warmly applauds the special brand of communism enunciated by some groups in that country. We have

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heard millions of words from the new 'friends' of human liberty; let us examine some of their deeds.

In the last 50 years, commencing with the organisation of counter-revolution and intervention in the first Soviet Republic and ending with the wanton, cold blooded murder of the most noble, most lovable, and heroic men, women and children of Vietnam, the new found friends of Czechoslovakia have exposed themselves as a vile band of gangsters, employing ruthlessly and on a world scale, mass murder, torture, subversion, corruption and assassination to gain their ignoble ends.

I would like to make an appeal to the people of Czechoslovakia for whom I have always had deep affection and sympathy:

'Friends, your history and your geographical position have made your security and national existence dependent on your genuine friendship with the Soviet Union. The bond of friendship between you and the people of the USSR has been enshrined by the blood of several hundred thousand of your own people and 145,000 Red Army men and women who found heroes graves in your soil in the struggle against the Nazi barbarians. For the sake of your own country, for the sake of world peace, for the unity and progress of the international socialist movement, don't break that friendship. Honour the agreements, in letter and spirit, your leaders have solemnly undertaken, and rid your country of subversion and treason. Remember Munich and spurn the embrace of the international counter-revolution which can only lead to your enslavement and destruction as a nation. You have a vital role to play in the life and death struggle between the emergent world of socialism and the dying world of capitalism. With little effort and no sacrifice you can deliver a well earned rebuff to world reaction and unite the world socialist movement.'

Monty Johnstone

RPD speaks of the possibility of 'the experienced Soviet leadership' regarding criticism from their friends of their action in Czechoslovakia 'as coming from critics who are prepared to lecture them on how to run the revolution (whose revolution?), but have not yet had the opportunity to prove in practice their own capacity to carry through and maintain successfully a Socialist revolution.' Later he speaks of a possible Soviet 'expectation that the arrival of allied Socialist troops would have helped to rally the healthy elements against the reactionaries, instead of, as it did, uniting the general body of the people, and all sections of the Party, behind the leaders who had been criticised for assisting the reactionaries'. If the latter is true, it certainly does not say much for the ability of this 'experienced Soviet leadership' to understand the most simple realities of the Czech situation. For it was not difficult to appreciate, especially after the mass demonstrations of support for Dubcek at the time of Cierna, that an armed intervention could only reinforce this unity. Experience is always a relative concept. The Soviet leaders, whose political apprenticeship was served in the Soviet Union in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, have not experienced the Czechs' background of bourgeois democracy that makes them determined to restore and extend in a pluralistic Socialist democracy all those democratic liberties that their fathers struggled for and won. May it not be that the experience of Western Communist Parties is perhaps of greater relevance in understanding the position in Czechoslovakia than that of the Soviet leaders?

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Mikki Doyle

CONGRATULATIONS on the excellent analysis on the Czechoslovak situation. It has made a most important contribution towards a deeper understanding of the complex questions that are of so much concern to us all these days.

Daphne Simon

I AM WRITING TO PROTEST as strongly as I can at the October Notes of the Month on Czechoslovakia. What they come to is an elaborate justification of the invasion, and a denigration and misrepresentation of the Czech Action Programme and the Czechs' democratic reforms. The Russians have violated the fundamental principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of another socialist state. You repeat their assertions that there was some threat of counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia—though, like them, you produce no evidence to support it. How can you? All the evidence points exactly the other way: the Czech Communist Party had won enormously greater support among the people, it was fully in control of the situation, and the first steps that it had already taken towards implementing its programme were helping socialism to *advance* in Czechoslovakia. The Russians lied in saying that they had been invited in (and had to drop it); and their latest action seems to show that they are also not sincere when they talk about different roads to socialism.

The Czechs had pointed the way to the possibility of developing a much more humane, liberal and truly democratic socialism than anything we have seen so far, except for the first decade or so of the Soviet Union. Their example has enormous importance for us in the West, who have to move forward to socialism from a long tradition of bourgeois democracy.

Gordon Norris

'CZECHOSLOVAKIA—LESSONS FOR US ALL' is a valuable historical analysis of world socialist development as we know it today, and the contribution of the Soviet Union in particular. The value of R.P.D.'s historical evaluation is that it hoists high and clear the fundamental class issues, imperialism versus socialism, showing that at all times the socialist states must be vigilant.

The struggle of the working class to change society is itself a tremendous achievement; however, as Lenin made clear, to defend such achievement is a task of even greater importance to that particular society and to the world socialist movement.

Correction

In the October Notes on Czechoslovakia it was stated, on the basis of unchecked reports appearing at the time in the Western press, that 'of the Communist Parties in the non-socialist world . . . the majority . . . have expressed criticism.' Fuller information has shown that this statement was incorrect. On the basis of the fuller declarations so far available it would appear that the majority of Communist and Workers' Parties in the non-socialist world have supported the action of the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact associates in relation to Czechoslovakia, while a significant minority, including most of those in Western Europe, have expressed criticism. R.P.D.

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BOOKS

History of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Vol. I: Formation and Early Years 1919-1924

James Klugmann

Lawrence & Wishart, 382 pp., 63s.

SOME TEN YEARS AGO I recall attending the last meeting of the Communist Party's Commission on the production of its official History. Harry Pollitt was in the chair and we entrusted the formidable task to James Klugmann. Though the gestation has been long (and not surprisingly, considering the scale of the work and the immense amount of research called for) this first-born of an extensive series shows that the years of waiting have been worth while.

Rightly, Klugmann throughout does not treat the Party history in isolation but sets it in the current history of politics and of the Labour movement as a whole. Those revolutionary years immediately following the First World War were, of course, exceptionally eventful. Overshadowing all was the enormous impact of the Russian Revolution, with the ensuing international solidarity climaxing in the Councils of Action campaign here in August 1920—a campaign in which the just-formed Communist Party played an instant and worthy part. But this, though central, was but one of many fronts.

Britain, with capitalism fighting for its post-war comeback, was the scene of gigantic class conflicts, particularly in the coalfields; and the country's critical political situation was reflected in the unprecedented succession of General Elections (1922, 1923, 1924), resulting in the first Labour Government and the shattering exposure of Ramsay Macdonald's right wing opportunist leadership. Trade unionism was in a ferment; there was a demand for a 'General Staff of Labour'; the ignominious collapse of the Triple Alliance (miners, railwaymen, transport workers) on Black Friday, 1921, had led to widespread disillusionment with the dominant reformist leadership. National and colonial liberation struggles (Ireland, India, China, Egypt most notably) were coming to the fore.

It was indeed in apocalyptic days that, as Klugmann traces in documented detail, a number of existing revolutionary Socialist groupings came together in the summer of 1920 to launch the Communist Party, cementing their unity by drawing in the remaining like-minded groups at a further gathering in Leeds in January 1921.

To my mind, as a participant in those early struggles (I joined the Party in 1922) the basic feature of our Party's formation was that—for the first time since Engels sought to lay down the true guidelines for a British Marxist Party in the '80s and '90s—real, live, *political* Marxism, as continued and developed by Lenin, was implanted in British soil. Certainly it was only a beginning; for years we suffered from a lamentable lack of the Marxist-Leninist classics in English; but at last there was some vision of what Marxism really meant, as a guide to action, not a dogma, in place of the arid, dogmatic caricature—'British-American "Marxism"' we used to call it—embraced by so many of the old Socialist sects.

For this we have Lenin's personal interest and concern to thank, as

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Klugmann shows. I have only space for one example: his famous letter of August 1921 to Party founder Tom Bell, in which on this basis of news of developments among the South Wales miners he made two 'important' points—'(1) to create a very good, really proletarian, really mass *Communist Party* . . . which will *really* be the LEADING force in all Labour movement in this part of the country' and '(2) To start a daily paper of the working class . . . as an *economic and political* tool of the masses in their struggle.'

This exceptional emphasis by Lenin on the primary importance of the 'really *proletarian* Communist newspaper' seems to me the second basic item to have emerged in our formative years. I consider, certainly in retrospect, that it was a more vital feature of the Pollitt-Dutt Party Commission Report of 1922 (with which, as William Gallacher later wrote, the Party 'found its feet') than Klugmann seems to allow. It is worth recalling that the Commission called the Party's Press its '*most important*' weapon [my italics] and stressed that 'the full force of the Party needs to be brought to bear to back' its central newspaper, which 'can only live by the will of the members to make it live'; thus pushing the paper in every possible way 'is a first duty of all groups and individual members.'

In that spirit the Commission-prescribed *Workers' Weekly* (captioned 'Forerunner of the Workers' Daily') had a sensational impact in February 1923 both on the Party and the wider movement. The old *Communist's* 8,000 a week skyrocketed to around 50,000 (Dutt's editorial command was matched by the managerial drive of Bert Hawkins, to whom a modest tribute might be paid). More than Klugmann indicates, it was around the *Workers' Weekly* that we first earned what I hold to be the proud title 'the Party of newspaper sellers' (to those who in later years have appeared to regard this as a reproach I would commend the example of that other 'Party of newspaper sellers,' the Bolsheviks pushing *Pravda* round the Petersburg factories in 1912-14).

The third basic feature (and I do not underestimate the importance of the unity conception underlying the Party's hard-fought campaign for affiliation to the Labour Party) was the forging of the link between the Party and all militant forces in the trade unions. Here Klugmann admirably describes the way in which the initial work of the British Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions, in which Harry Pollitt played the leading part, culminated in 1924 in the establishment of the National Minority Movement, also led by Pollitt. This was a decisive step towards ending that 'divorce' between revolutionary Socialism and trade unionism which Lenin had many years before singled out as the most negative feature of the British movement.

There are one or two slips which no doubt will be corrected in later editions: on p. 16 (and in the index) the Social Democratic Federation is miscalled Socialist etc., while on p. 70 the Socialist League appears as the 'Social League'; on p. 42 the mysterious initials CUG should be spelt out—Communist Unity Group; the initials of Bert Hawkins, the outstanding manager of the *Workers' Weekly* (he is not mentioned as such) were A.H., not A.M.—pp. 194, 336.

ALLEN HUTT

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RED DEAN—AND YELLOW REVIEWERS

Searching for Light, an autobiography by Dr. Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury 1931 to 1963. *Michael Joseph,* 446 pp., 60s.

OUT OF THE MULTITUDE of books yearly published in Britain, the Socialist publications often meet hostile criticism in newspapers owned by millionaires (that is, if they are given any notice at all) which is hardly surprising in this country where a capitalist ideology has predominated for many generations. But if a socialist book deals with another country where millionaires and other capitalists ('damned thieves' according to William Morris) have been abolished as a class, and where a socialist ideology prevails, then hostility becomes intense and long-lasting, pursuing the object of their hatred into the grave—as happened this year with the 'Red' Dean's autobiography.

It had begun with Dr. Hewlett Johnson's most famous book *The Socialist Sixth of the World,* which was translated into a score of languages with a print of nearly three million copies and clandestinely reproduced in countries under fascist occupation. Correctly estimating its importance, Sir Charles Trevelyan* at the beginning of February 1940 wrote to the Dean:

> 'You have given to the world the best book on Socialism and Russia put out yet for popular consumption. The Webbs's is a greater book; but so many excellent people are frightened by its size. Moreover, you link up Russia with our own necessities. Thank you for it. You have done well!'

But in the millionaire newspapers and periodicals the reception was quite the opposite. That a man in his lofty position (usually reckoned to be a staunch prop of the Establishment) should have written in favour of Socialism and of the working class, was in their view an outrage: and Hewlett Johnson was 'a traitor to his class'. To the charge levelled against him of 'speaking politically' (a luxury, as we know, in which none but conservative clergymen are supposed to indulge), he answered:

> 'If by that is meant denouncing the social evils of today, of demanding justice for the downtrodden and the oppressed, for Labour and the working class, then my conscience forces me to speak, and I can do no other.'

The 'Red' Dean, as the newspapers began to call him had incurred the powerful and implacable furies of class hatred: and by them he was pursued throughout the years. Seven books that he wrote are listed: and this last, written after his fifth visit to China in his 90th year, deserves much better treatment than it received from newspaper and weekly reviews in the spring of this year. These reviews did not convey the scope and interest of the book—only the quality of the reviewer. Those who in their political infancy had sucked the pure milk of revolutionary doctrine only to find it curdling upon queasy stomachs were particularly virulent in their rejection of the 'Red' Dean. But it is hardly necessary (besides being a waste of space) to deal at this distance with what was said nor to question what was the colour of their ink. Their pens could be

* Minister both in the first and in the second Labour Government from which latter he resigned in 1931 when it no longer squared with his socialist principles to remain in the Cabinet.

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dipped into any sort of literary poison without fear of restraint as the risk of a libel action (not that the Dean ever took one, however warranted) had been removed by his death the year before.

Three themes are discernible in the book. The first theme is that of his youth, childhood, upbringing in the upper-middle class, his uncles owning Lancashire coalmines and his father the head of a family manufacturing business that began in 1777. Apprenticed to engineering, he became a civil engineer with high qualifications. Then he undertook a new apprenticeship, to be a clergyman: and soon was ordained. It was not long before he initiated in 1905 the *Interpreter*, a widely-read Anglican magazine of religious study and criticism and continued to edit it for seventeen years. This particular theme gives a remarkable picture of class structure and the contrast of riches and poverty in Lancashire and Cheshire in the fourth quarter of last century and the first decade of this.

A second theme in the book comes with parochial work up to 1924 when Ramsay MacDonald chose him as Dean of Manchester; and, seven years later, as Dean of Canterbury. Here the Dean found himself in continuously recurring conflict with the Canons Residentiary, the Chapter of the Cathedral. In a politico-religious fervour of hatred they signed a letter to *The Times* (March 11, 1940) insinuating that he should resign. Such passions, it seems, may rage in an English cathedral close as in Robert Browning's *Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister*!

'If hate killed men, Brother Lawrence,
God's blood, would not mine kill you!'

The Dean himself in these reminiscences bears no grudge. But some readers may have a feeling of nausea at the Chapter's intolerance towards the Dean of a cathedral regarded as the Mother Church of the Anglican Communion which is 'a fellowship within the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of those duly constituted Dioceses, Provinces or Regional Churches in Communion with the See of Canterbury.'

The greater part of the book, however, is the theme of his indefatigable socialist journeys on which comment is needless. A relief mission in the famine areas of China in 1932 was followed by two visits to the Soviet Union, one in 1937 and another at the end of the war in 1945. Thereafter he journeyed many times to the 'new democracies' in Europe. He tells how on one occasion (in autumn 1947) the meddlesome Foreign Office was rebuffed when it tried to put a sprag in his wheel:

> 'Before I left England I had a letter from Archbishop Fisher in which he said: "The Foreign Office and I feel that you should not go to Hungary at this time." My opinion was that an English Archbishop should be independent and not in league with the Foreign Office, and that it was useful for me to observe the Hungarian elections.'

In 1964, already in his tenth decade, he made his last journey to the Chinese People's Republic at the express invitation of Chou En-lai, having spent the first days of that year at the Fifth Annual Celebration in Havana of the Cuban Revolution. Not many epochs of history have three revolutions in less than fifty years: but it was the fortune of the 'Red' Dean to have lived in such a period, to have hailed this new dawn of mankind and to have done his best to further the cause of peace and liberation of subject classes and peoples.

R. PAGE ARNOT.

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Power, Politics and People

C. Wright Mills

Oxford University Press, 658 pp., 26s. 6d.

Power, Politics and People by C. Wright Mills, a paper-back reprint of all his collected essays, is an exhaustive assembling of all the papers that served as the raw material for his many books. Wright Mills specialised in sociology and philosophy as well as holding a degree in anthropology. What made him controversial, especially in the political climate of the Cold War, was his view—to quote the editor of the book, Irving L. Horowitz—of 'the need for social scientists to address themselves to the great agonies and issues of our age.' And in contrast to so many other American scholars, he did just that.

While not a Marxist, he boldly introduced Marxism as an indispensable current in American intellectual political life. In his last book, *The Marxists*, Mills wrote 'The intellectual value . . . of Marxism . . . is not merely historical. It has a direct intellectual relevance today.'

However, he ignored and treated with contempt the basic Marxist theme of dialectical materialism; tended to underestimate the decisive role of the working class; and appears to give a place of esteem to free-lance Marxists as against what he calls the 'organisation man.'

Nevertheless, two things stand out: (1) Mills was dedicated to principle, had integrity, hated obscurantism and approached his discussion of Marxism without finalised opinions, declaring in the introduction of *The Marxists* that he was writing 'as one who is seeking, with his readers, political orientation'; and (2) he tried not to live in any academic ivory towers, declaring 'no political philosopher can be detached; he can only pretend to be.' This resulted in his taking a sharp stand against the Cold War, and in support of Socialist Cuba. He called for all American intellectuals to 'refuse to fight the Cold War' being waged by the power elite of America.

His early death at forty-five in 1962 robbed the United States of a fearless thinker, who in the dark days of the Cold War challenged the ideological conformity that the Establishment tried to impose on the people.

JOHN WILLIAMSON

Angels in Marble

Robert MacKenzie and Allan Silver

Heinemann, 296 pp., 50s.

WHAT CAN I SAY after ploughing through its 296 pages of documentation, charts and graphs and at the same time do justice to the tremendous effort of the authors who must have spent countless hours in research? Only to the conclusion that it would be useful to political party election agents, political historians, lecturers and students of political economy. However, to the ordinary lay-member of trade unions and political parties, who would be tempted to buy it, perhaps because the title may appeal to their curiosity, I would lay odds that those who had the patience to plough through from the first to the last page, will be thinking of different invectives to call the Tory voters in the working-class, and I am quite confident that they would not contain any angelic qualities as discerned by Disraeli, quoted in *The Times*, April 18, 1883: 'In the inarticulate mass of the English populace, (Disraeli) discerned the conservative workingman as the sculptor perceives the angel prisoned in a block of marble.' JACK DASH

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A LIGHT THROUGH THE FOG

'The fog is thickening,' writes a Leeds reader. 'Fleet Street, the BBC and Government spokesmen are working round the clock to blind and confuse us. We need *LM* as never before to guide us through to a clear understanding of what is really happening.'

This readers expresses the feelings of a host of supporters who have written to us recently. November is traditionally a foggy month; but the fog of anti-socialist propaganda lasts all the year through. It can only be combated by shining the clear light of Marxist analysis into the dark places. By revealing the face of the enemy. By defeating every attempt to divide and disarm the people. *LM* has no other function.

To fulfil that function we need the constant support of our readers. We understand only too well the difficulties created for many by our price-rise last month, but as a Manchester engineer puts it—'I can't afford *not* to find that extra bob.'

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Verdicts on Vietnam, Edited by Abu, Introduction by James Cameron. Pemberton Publishing Co., 128 pp., 9s. 6d.

The New Local Government System, Peter G. Richards. Allen and Unwin, 192 pp., 35s.

Documents of the First International. Lawrence & Wishart, 626 pp., 21s.

A Hundred Years of Sociology, G. Duncan Mitchell. Gerald Duckworth, 310 pp., 42s.

The Role of Force in History, Frederick Engels. Lawrence & Wishart, 108 pp., 21s.

The Making of British Foreign Policy, David Vital. Allen and Unwin, 120 pp., 20s.

Can the Workers Run Industry? Edited by Ken Coates. Sphere, 254 pp., 8s. 6d.

The Biometricians and the Development of Statistics, B. L. Welch. Leeds University Press, 24 pp., 2s. 6d.

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